

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2094

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 5108

EXDIS/SALT

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TO TEXT SUBJ., E.O. AND TAGS INFO)

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS 1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: SEMENOV STATEMENT, SEPTEMBER 25, 1973 (SALT TWO - 280)

FOLLOWING IS THE TRANSLATION OF THE STATEMENT  
PRESENTED BY MINISTER SEMENOV, TUESDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 25, 1973.

SEMENOV STATEMENT, SEPTEMBER 25, 1973

ALLOW ME ON BEHALF OF THE USSR DELEGATION TO WARMLY  
WELCOME YOU, MR. AMBASSADOR, THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF  
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE MEMBERS OF YOUR DELEGATION  
AND THE ADVISORS AND STAFF OF THE U.S. DELEGATION AT THE STRATEGIC  
ARMS LIMITATION TALKS.

THE STAGE OF THE SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITA-  
TION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WHICH IS NOW BEGINNING, IS  
ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT AND RESPONSIBLE. THIS IS DUE TO THE FACT THAT  
OUR MEETINGS ARE RESUMING AFTER THE SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS  
AT THE SUMMIT THAT WERE HELD IN JUNE DURING THE VISIT TO THE UNITED  
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STATES OF L.I.BREZHNEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU. AS YOU KNOW, DURING THESE NEGOTIATIONS  
GREAT ATTENTION WAS GIVEN TO QUESTIONS OF LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFEN-  
SIVE ARMS. HAVING DISCUSSED ALL ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION, THE

HIGHEST LEADERS OF OUR COUNTRIES ASCERTAINED THAT PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE AT THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND THAT THERE WERE FAVORABLE PROSPECTS FOR ACHIEVING A PERMANENT AGREEMENT ON MORE COMPLETE MEASURES IN THIS AREA. THE DOCUMENT "BASIC PRINCIPLES OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FURTHER LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS"--A DOCUMENT SPECIFYING HOW AND IN WHAT DIRECTION OUR NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO BE FURTHER CONDUCTED--WAS SIGNED AND MADE PUBLIC IN WASHINGTON.

THE VERY FACT THAT THE HIGHEST LEADERS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES CONSIDERED IT NECESSARY TO SPECIFY IN A SPECIAL DOCUMENT THE PRINCIPLES OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ABOVE PROBLEM SPEAKS FOR ITSELF. IT IS CONVINCING EVIDENCE OF THE FACT THAT BOTH GOVERNMENTS ATTACH PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE TO THE SUBJECT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO THE NEED TO COMPLETE THEM SUCCESSFULLY, CONSIDERING FURTHER LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO BE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT FOR ENSURING A STABLE AND LASTING PEACE.

IN BEGINNING OUR WORK, WE WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE CHARACTERIZED BY A SPIRIT OF BUSINESSLIKE AND CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION, FACILITATING A SUCCESSFUL SEARCH FOR AGREED SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS FACING US.

(AT THIS POINT MINISTER SEMENOV GAVE THE FLOOR TO AMBASSADOR JOHNSON)

MR. AMBASSADOR,

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR, HAVING REVIEWED THE RESULTS OF THE SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT TALKS DURING THE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN JUNE 1973 OF L.I.BREZHNEV. GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, HAVE NOTED THAT THE CONDUCT AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE TALKS HAVE LAID A GOOD FOUNDATION FOR A NORMAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND AT THE SAME TIME CONTRIBUTE TO CONSOLIDATING DETENTE AND STRENGTHENING WORLD PEACE  
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AND THE SECURITY OF NATIONS.

IT WAS RECOGNIZED THAT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FURTHER LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, SIGNED IN WASHINGTON, ARE CALLED UPON TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE. CONTINUING THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET-AMERICAN AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED IN MAY 1972 IN MOSCOW, THIS DOCUMENT PROVIDES FOR AN ACTIVE CONTINUATION OF WORK AIMED AT NOT ONLY LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS QUANTITATIVELY AND IN TERMS OF THEIR QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT, BUT ALSO AT MEASURES FOR THEIR SUBSEQUENT REDUCTION.

THE AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, WHICH IS OF UNLIMITED DURATION AND WAS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE USSR AND

THE U.S., IS AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD REDUCING AND ULTIMATELY  
ELIMINATING THE THREAT OF OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR, TOWARD CREATION  
OF A SYSTEM OF GENUINE GUARANTEES OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

THE RESULTS OF THE SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT TALKS IN JUNE  
1973 SERVE THE INTERESTS OF NOT ONLY THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR  
AND THE U.S., BUT ALSO OF ALL PEACE-LOVING MANKIND.

I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF  
NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FURTHER LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE  
ARMS, SIGNED IN JUNE 1973 BY L.I.BREZHNEV, GENERAL  
SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, AND U.S.  
PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON, AS WELL AS THE OTHER DOCUMENTS SIGNED  
AT THE SUMMIT MEETINGS IN MAY 1972 AND JUNE 1973, ARE OF  
FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRESS IN SOLVING THE  
PROBLEMS BEFORE THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

THE DOCUMENT "BASIC PRINCIPLES OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE  
FURTHER LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS" DEMONSTRATES  
THAT BOTH OUR STATES--THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES--  
ARE FULLY RESOLVED TO SEARCH ACTIVELY FOR A SOLUTION TO THE  
PROBLEM OF LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. BOTH OUR DELEGA-  
TIONS ARE CALLED UPON TO BE GUIDED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THEIR  
PRACTICAL WORK. THE BASIC PRINCIPLES PRECISELY DEFINE THE GOAL  
OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND ALSO PROVIDE THAT, TO MEET THIS GOAL, THE  
SIDES WILL UNDERTAKE SERIOUS EFFORTS TO WORK OUT THE PROVISIONS  
OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT.

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FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2095

INFO DOD

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 5108

EXDIS/SALT

SPECIAL EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

THE DOCUMENT ON THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS,  
AGREED UPON AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, SPECIFIES THE TASKS ENSUING  
FROM ARTICLE XI OF THE TREATY ON THE LIMITATION OF ANTI-BALLISTIC

MISSILE SYSTEMS AND ARTICLE VII OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT ON CERTAIN MEASURES WITH RESPECT TO THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THIS IMPOSES A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY UPON THE DELEGATIONS, WHO OUGHT TO DEVOTE ALL THEIR EFFORTS TO CARRYING OUT THE TASK ASSIGNED THEM.

EXPERIENCE AT THE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH PRECEDED THE SIGNING IN MAY 1972 OF THE ABM TREATY AND THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, SUGGESTS THAT WORKING OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE PROVISIONS FOR AN AGREEMENT IS A RATHER COMPLEX AND LABORIOUS TASK. THIS IS UNDERSTANDABLE-- AFTER ALL, WE ARE TALKING ABOUT THE MOST MODERN, THE MOST POWERFUL AND TECHNOLOGICALLY COMPLEX WEAPONS, AND THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AFFECTS THE MOST DELICATE ASPECTS OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE SIDES. ACCOMPLISHMENT OF SUCH A TASK DEMANDS NOT ONLY AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE SPECIFIC NATURE OF THE PROBLEM AND THE NEED TO SOLVE IT, BUT ALSO SUBSTANTIAL EFFORTS TO FIND CONCRETE WORDING, ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. THIS REQUIRES A CONSTRUCTIVE AND BUSINESSLIKE APPROACH, COMBINING THE NECESSARY BREADTH OF VIEWS WITH METICULOUS AND SCRUPULOUS WORK.

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THE APPROACH TO THE TASK OF WORKING OUT A PERMANENT AGREEMENT IS DETERMINED ABOVE ALL BY AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE FACT THAT IN THE NUCLEAR AGE THERE IS NO OTHER BASIS FOR MAINTAINING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. BUT PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. THIS IS A CONCLUSION ONE CANNOT FAIL TO DRAW FROM A REALISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. IT IS RECORDED IN THE JOINT DOCUMENT ON THE "BASIC PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S.," SIGNED MAY 29, 1972. IT IS PRECISELY AWARENESS OF THE EXCEPTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR ALL MANKIND OF THE ADOPTION OF EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO ELIMINATE THE DANGER OF WAR, AND ESPECIALLY NUCLEAR WAR, WHICH LIES AT THE BASIS OF THE AFOREMENTIONED AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, WHICH WAS SIGNED IN WASHINGTON ON JUNE 22, 1973.

ADOPTION OF FURTHER MEASURES LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WOULD BE ANOTHER MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO REDUCING THE RISK OF OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR AND STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE TASK ASSIGNED TO US CAN BE CARRIED OUT IN SPITE OF ITS COMPLEXITY, GIVEN GOOD WILL ON BOTH SIDES AND A MUTUAL DESIRE TO SEEK AND FIND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL SECURITY AND INADMISSIBILITY OF UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE, RECOGNIZED AT OUR NEGOTIATIONS AND AFFIRMED IN THE DOCUMENTS OF THE JUNE MEETING.

IT IS PRECISELY THIS THAT WILL BE GUIDING THE USSR DELEGATION WHICH HAS INSTRUCTIONS TO CONDUCT THE NEGOTIATIONS IN A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT, FOCUSING ITS EFFORTS ON WORKING OUT A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE DRAFT, FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE DOCUMENT ON BASIC PRINCIPLES OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR FURTHER LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

MR. AMBASSADOR,

THE UNDERSTANDING ON BASIC PRINCIPLES OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS  
GIVES NEW IMPETUS AND PRECISE DIRECTION TO THE JOINT WORK OF THE  
DELEGATIONS. IT OPENS UP FAVORABLE PROSPECTS FOR REACHING A  
PERMANENT AGREEMENT ON MORE COMPLETE MEASURES WITH RESPECT TO  
THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

DURING THE WORKING RECESS THE RECORD OF PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS  
WAS CAREFULLY ANALYZED BY THE SOVIET SIDE IN THE LIGHT OF THE RU-  
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SULTS OF THE SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETING IN JUNE 1973.

IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN RESUMED  
TODAY OUR DELEGATIONS, GUIDED BY THE BASIC PRINCIPLES, HAVE TO  
ORGANIZE THEIR WORK IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ENSURE PROGRESS AT THE  
NEGOTIATIONS AND ACCOMPLISH THE TASK SET BEFORE US BY THE GOVERN-  
MENTS OF OUR COUNTRIES. JOHNSON

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